

VALENTYN'S ACCOUNT OF MALACCA.

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CONTRIBUTED BY

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[I attach a continuation of former translations, which will complete this account.

I have to acknowledge valuable help given by Mr. J. R. INNES in revising this translation.

This paper is accompanied by a copy of VALENTYN'S map of Malacca.

D. F. A. H.]



T was in 1627 that the board of administration at Batavia intended to make the next attempt, of which expedition one KAREL LIEVENSSOON was to be the Commander, but for some reason or other this plan had likewise to be given up. So it happened that it was not until 1640, in the reign of the said Prince ABDULJALIL SJAII II, and whilst the Hon'ble ANTONI VAN DIEMEN held the Governor-Generalship of India, that this matter was taken up in good earnest, detailed account of which we will give in the following chapter:—

Exact Account of the Siege and Conquest of the strong and famous Town of Malacca under the Administration of the Hon'ble Antoni van Diemen, Governor-General of India.

For several years Malacca and the trade of the Portuguese with that place and in the southern part of India had been much hindered and troubled by the navigation of our war-vessels. We

shall see later that in 1640 and 1641, a squadron under the command of JACOB KOPER, together with some vessels of the Johor Malays, blockaded the place so as to prevent it from being properly supplied with the most urgently needed provisions. That same year then, the Hon'ble ANTONI VAN DIEMEN, jointly with the Hon'ble Council of India, resolved to attack by main force, and, if possible, to take that strong and famous town, which, next to Goa, was the most important town of Portuguese India.

Their Honours intrusted the execution of this important business to Sergeant-Major ADRIAAN ANTONISSOON, an old, experienced and bold soldier. He left Batavia for Malacca in May, 1640, with three well-manned vessels, with orders to take over the command of the fleet from the Commander KOPER, to blockade the town on the seaside as closely as possible, and on the arrival of more troops from Batavia and of the auxiliary troops from the Kings of Acheen and Johor, to land with all his forces, and, according to circumstances, to try and take the town either by arranging terms, by siege, or by storming it, as he thought best.

In accordance with this plan, in the beginning of June, twelve ships and six boats so rigorously blockaded the town on the seaside, that its supply of victuals was almost entirely cut off, and hardly any one could succeed in leaving or entering the place; hence several vessels with provisions and one barge with fresh supplies from Goa were also taken by our people.

Meanwhile the King of Acheen refused us his assistance; but our fleet was constantly relieved by ships and troops (sailors and soldiers). In short, when at the end of July, the King of Johor's fleet of some 40 sail with a force of 1,400 or 1,500 men had joined our troops, which were partly Dutch, partly German, and of about the same strength, our Commander, on the 2nd of August issued the order that the combined forces should land at about one-third of a mile on the north side of the suburb of Malacca.⁽¹⁾ No sooner were the troops landed than they expelled the enemy, several hundred strong, from the first bastion and were so close at their heels, that they entered

(1) *i.e.*, Tranquerah.

the suburb soon after them and drove them back within the fortress.

Our troops then encamped in the conquered suburb, and after having built two batteries there within a pistolshot of the ramparts of the fortress, they battered them so fiercely with sixteen 24-pounders, that finally, notwithstanding the brave resistance of the enemy, several large breaches were made. These breaches exposed the enemy to a great danger, but they were able to meet it for a while by their extraordinary courage. The siege of the river preventing us from storming the town as yet, we could do nothing but blockade the town (within gunshot) from the seaside as closely as possible with our ships drawn up in half-moon form and harass the enemy by an uninterrupted cannonade and a constant throwing of bomb-shells, to which they did not fail to reply bravely and patiently from their heavy guns. This cannonade not only killed many people and wasted much powder and lead, but proved plainly that this siege would last a very long time, unless their Honours resolved to send a larger fleet than they had yet done to besiege the town. Though great scarcity of provisions prevailed in the town, and the Johorians assisted us in many ways, as, for instance, in supplying us with all sorts of materials, in building some of our batteries and other works, in preventing the enemy's small crafts from entering or leaving the town, and in hindering them in a hundred other ways, still it would have been impossible for us to take the town, if no other expedients had been adopted.

The pride of the Governor of Malacca, MANUEL DE SOUZA COUTINHO, and the stubbornness of the besieged Portuguese contributed not a little to the long duration of this siege, for several offers of a reasonable capitulation were rejected with contempt. Add to this the self-willed conduct of our Commander ADRIAAN ANTONISSOON and the fickleness of his successor JACOB KOPER, and it is no wonder that five months passed without the smallest improvement and with great expenditure and loss on both sides. Many remarkable encounters by sea and land occurred during this space of time,

in which our people generally carried the day; the enemy, exasperated from want of provisions, used his utmost efforts to bring them by water into the town, which our people tried to prevent, and which caused bloody battles; also similar attempts by land were made at the same time in a determined manner, but were everywhere repelled by our men with the utmost courage.

The natural strength of the place itself, which was greatly increased artificially, conduced to enable it to withstand so many thousands of cannon-balls fired at it from our Artillery, especially from the sixteen 24-pounders. Yet, by this incessant battering not only were large breaches made in the strong bastions "Curassa" and "St. Domingo,"⁽¹⁾ but even the dome of the "Hospital des Pauvres" was levelled to the ground, and the tower of the old fortress, the church, and several large buildings were so badly damaged, that they were hardly recognizable. The hard-pressed Portuguese on the other hand did not fail to do us damage from their battery of extraordinary heavy pieces on St. Paul's Hill, so much so that not one house in our quarters in the suburb remained intact.

The protracted siege and the great want which followed, not only in the distressed town, but also in our army, caused a bad plague, with great mortality among the troops of both parties; more of the troops were destroyed by this disease than by the hand of the enemy. Hence, notwithstanding the many fresh supplies forwarded from Batavia with the necessary provisions, our troops were quite unable to invest the town on all sides in such a manner as to cut off all supplies of victuals to the enemy. Some deserters also gave us a great deal of trouble, as they informed the enemy of the bad condition of our army and so encouraged him not to yield for some time longer, till, perchance, relief might come from Goa, or we might at last raise the siege, to which suggestions they gave so much credit, that they resolved to persevere to the

(1) This was at the N. W. corner of the fort facing what is now the New Market. (See "Plan of Portuguese Fortress in Malacca," in vol. III of the Commentaries of Albuquerque translated by Mr. DE GRAY BIRCH for the Hakluyt Society.)

last, notwithstanding the wretched state in which they were.

This stubborn, nay savage resolution of the enemy, caused the destruction in the month of December, 1640, and January, 1641, of a great number of people; besides which, many of the besieged, emaciated with hunger and unable any longer to resist, fled to our army. They informed us that there were in the town not more than 200 Europeans and only 400 or 500 Eurasians, and that victuals were so scarce that a *gantang*⁽¹⁾ of rice was sold for 10 rix dollars, and a pound of dried cow's or buffalo's hide for 5 or 6 crusados,⁽²⁾ and that it was very hard to get them even at that price. This want compelled the enemy to expel most unmercifully from the place many women and children and all useless mouths; famine was so prevalent that a mother actually exhumed the body of her own child and after having kept it for two days was driven by the pangs of hunger to eat it, to the consternation of all who heard of it.

Notwithstanding the wretched state of things in our camp, our people, greatly encouraged by the consistent reports of the extreme distress of the town, kept up their courage pretty well, though we had not only lost a large number of common soldiers, but also several brave men and chief officers of the army. Among these last ones were the Commissioner (Komissariss) JOHAN DE MEERE (who died on the 8th October), the Commander ADRIAAN ANTONISSOON (in November), and his successor JACOB KOPER (in the beginning of January, 1641), and Captain PIETER VAN DEN BROEK (the same who, as Director of Suratte and as the founder of the trade with Persia and the Red Sea, had retired to his native country with the rank of Chief Admiral, but, not having come very well out of these affairs, was sent here by his friend General VAN DIEMEN). Most of these men died from lingering diseases, and from the great hardships they had suffered here.

By this successive decease of our Commanders we soon felt the want of proper men for Commanders of our troops, and in the absence of more distinguished officers (the whole of the Secret Council having died and a new one having been

(1) A gallon.

(2) Marked with a cross on one face.

appointed from among the officers of the army and the fleet) Captain MIME WILLEMSOON KAAARTEKOE was approved as the Hon'ble Company's Commander of the land and naval forces before Malacca (though I cannot understand why others more suitable than Heer KAAARTEKOE, as, for instance, Heer LAMOTIUS and Captain FORCENBURG were overlooked). KAAARTEKOE then, in conformity with the advice of the Council (which, at that time, was composed of experienced and valiant Captains and seamen) to prevent our army further dwindling away from the ever-increasing pestilence, resolved to storm the moribund town of Malacca (which now scarcely offered any resistance) and to compel its inhabitants in this manner to surrender. After having held a day of public prayers, preparations were made for the storming of the town on the morning of the 14th of January, and, by the grace of God, that rich and important town was taken in the following manner :—

At daybreak of the 14th January, Sergeant-Major JOANES LAMOTIUS formed three columns of all our healthy troops (both soldiers and sailors), numbering about 650 men altogether, of which Captain LAURENS FORCENBURG commanded the first column, Captain HURDT the second, and Captain NICOLAAS JANSOON HOUTKOOPER the third. These troops, partly armed with muskets (the sailors carrying ladders), marched towards the Bastion "St. Domingo" and shouting the war cry "Help us God" they stormed that part of the town with irresistible courage. For a time the enemy offered a brave and unexpected resistance, but after a fierce hand to hand fight we became masters of this point, drove the flying enemy from there along the skirts of the town to the point "Madre de Dios," took that also after a weak resistance, and so successively the points "Our Mille Virgines," "St. Jago,"⁽¹⁾ "Curassa" and the "Hospital Bulwark." But at the "Fortillessa Velha" our men met with such a brave resistance, that they had to retreat with a loss of twenty men to the said Hospital, where they were beyond the range of the enemy's guns of heavy calibre and from where we could sweep them with our

(1) This, from the plan, must have been near where the old gateway is,

Artillery.

At that moment Commander KAARTEKOE having risen from his sick-bed and making his appearance on the town ramparts, most inopportunately prevented, by his want of judgment, the successful completion of the attack which our troops had now entirely in their hands, for (most unwarrantably and contrary to the custom of war) he entered into an agreement with the Portuguese Governor and (at his request) some priests, promising them and all the inhabitants of the town (with the exception of the King's soldiers) a free and safe retreat. The enemy then having abandoned that strong bulwark "Curassa" and the old fortress, our troops marched into those places and occupied them and all the other points.

The soldiers of the enemy were then immediately lodged in our camp, and ours in the town, whilst the respectable Portuguese inhabitants and their families were left peaceably in their houses, but ordered to carry all the gold, silver, jewels and money which they possessed to the Church of St. Paul.⁽¹⁾ Such good order was maintained that nothing was heard of murder, brutality or ravishing, though some of our soldiers (after having endured so much want and misery) in their first transport plundered some churches and brothels.

The Johor Malays, who had been ordered at daybreak to raise a false alarm near the bulwark "St. Jago," did not show themselves till after sunrise, when most of the bulwarks had already been taken by our soldiers; they then meant to get into the town by the conquered breach, but Heer LAMOTIUS wisely stopped them to prevent the further shedding of Christian blood, especially by the Moors, who intended to plunder and to destroy the whole town. Thus, not without great loss of men and money to the Hon'ble Company, we at last conquered that famous, strong and powerful mercantile place of the Portuguese, the matchless Malacca, which they had possessed 120 years. This being a strongly fortified and large place, superior to any other place in the East (save Goa), for its importance and many other advantages for which reason it was of old selected as the seat of the Malay

(1) On the top of the hill.

Kings, posterity may safely look upon this conquest as a proof of the valour of the Batavians. The ramparts and bastions were armed with 64 brass and 4 iron guns, 43 brass swivel guns and 31 iron ones, and the place was well provided with the best war materials.

The great number of inhabitants, the long duration of the siege and other unexpected misfortunes compelled the gallant Portuguese (for nobody will say that they did not behave gallantly during the whole siege), finally, when in want of everything and when no rescue appeared, to surrender the town. It had at that time several pretty broad and properly laid out streets, a small hill in the middle with the Church of St. Paul at its top and the beautiful Convent of the Order of Jesuits on its slope, besides many other churches and convents and very fine lofty buildings and houses; and, having been built in an exceedingly fertile tract of land, it was situated as advantageously as possible for the trade in the southern part of India.

But we must say that, if the Portuguese during this siege suffered such great calamities, they deserved it as a righteous punishment of God; for having led here for so many years such an incredibly godless life, they really could not be astonished at the terrible destruction of this town by war, famine and pestilence (the three scourges of which God so often makes use to punish similar places).

It is supposed that during the siege more than 7,000 persons died in the town, but that, in order to escape famine and pestilence, a much greater number fled from the town and were scattered all over the neighbouring country;⁽¹⁾ for of its population of more than 20,000 souls before the siege, no more than 3,000 inhabitants were left.

We lost before that place more than 1,500 Hollanders, mostly, however, of contagious diseases.

The Portuguese Governor died of disease two days after the surrender of the town, and was buried in the Church of

(1) This will probably account for signs of Portuguese type to be noticed occasionally both amongst Malays and aborigines, and apparently Christian legends found amongst the latter by Père BORIE and referred to by him in a paper in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*.

St. Domingo⁽¹⁾ with much pomp and a guard of honour from our troops after the manner of his country.

The Ovidôr-General (*i.e.*, their Fiscal of India), the Jesuits, the other priests and the principal citizens with their wives and children, left Malacca a few days afterwards in a vessel (which we lent them) for Negapatam; and since we did not visit and search this ship most probably he (the Ovidôr-General) carried away a treasure of money of at least several hundred thousands of rix dollars, besides what the others took with them.

LOUIS MATHIAS DE SOUSA CHYSORRO, the Commander of the troops, and the other officers and soldiers of the King of Spain were sent to Batavia, together with some priests and citizens. A few married Portuguese and the Eurasians with their families were left, so that the town might not be depopulated after its surrender, and so that we might be in a position to open it up again in time, as we afterwards did.

On the 1st of February, 1641 (*i.e.*, 17 days after the conquest of the town), Heer JOHAN VAN TWIST, Extraordinary Member of the Council of India, and the Commissioner Heer JUSTUS SCHOUTEN, arrived in the ruined town.

The former (first Dutch Governor of Malacca), after having inspected the whole town and its surrounding territory, made the necessary arrangements for the right administration of this conquered country, altering many things that had been badly and rashly managed through the ignorance of Commander KAARTEKOE, who, soon afterwards, returned to Batavia together with the superfluous officers and troops to bring to their Honours in person the news of the conquest of this town. This account of the siege and conquest of Malacca in all its details may merit so much more credit, from the fact that it is taken from a report dated 26th October, 1641, drawn up in Malacca by the Commissioner SCHOUTEN in person, and forwarded to their Honours at Batavia, though I doubt very much if that report can be found among the official records, either at Batavia or at Malacca, since many old papers (especially at Batavia) have been lost by the length of time and

(1) Behind the bastion of that name.

through accidents, and that at present but very few records, reaching beyond 1650, are still to be found.

One of the first matters taken in hand by Heer VAN TWIST was the constitution of a Board of Town Magistrates. The Factor and Fiscal, GERARD HERBERTS, arrived here with his family per the storeship *Gragt* on the 15th of May. According to letters from their Honours at Batavia there arrived at that place from Malacca on 11th December, 1640, the ship *Rynsburg*; on 16th January, 1641, the ship *Langerak*; on 24th January, the *Kleine Zon* with the news of the conquest of Malacca; on 10th February, the ships *Goes* and the *Taljoot de Fager* and the *Quelpart* and the *Brak*; on 13th February, the *Égmond*; on 18th February, the ship *Klein Zutphen*; and on 3rd April the *Wassenaar* with the late Commander MIME WILLEMSOON KAARTEKOE.

Their Honours received with these ships all the papers treating at large the matters of Malacca.

Several necessities, to the amount of 3,801 rix dollars, had been forwarded per the said storeship *Gragt* and per some other ships, whilst different sorts of calicos to an amount of rupees 31,341 had been sent with the Factors JAN DIRKSSOON PUYT and JORIS VERMEEREN for the tin trade at Perak, Kedah, Ujong Salang⁽¹⁾ and Bangeri, besides 1,000 rix dollars in specie. 31,341 guilders were also sent for the use of the above-named places, with orders that as much tin as could be got was to be sent to Batavia for the trade with Suratte and Persia.

Their Honours sanctioned all that had been done by the Governor and the Council and ordered them to continue to govern in the same way and to levy no other taxes, duties or money than those that existed under the Portuguese rule, so as to prevent further trouble, but, at the same time, to take full revenue which the King of Spain had enjoyed and not to surrender anything that they were properly entitled to.

On the 22nd May Heer GERARD HERBERTS, the new Fiscal (Attorney-General), examined and sentenced for the first time several criminal prisoners, whilst the first repairs of the

(1) Now known as 'Junk Ceylon.'

Bastion "Victoria" or "St. Domingo" were started on 23rd May, 1641. On 13th August, the Sjahbander JAN JANSZ MENIE returned from Maccam Thoheet with letters from the Orang Caia Laksamana to the Governor, containing the news that the Achinese accepted peace and promised to stop all enmity and robbery. From the letter of the Laksamana to the Governor it appears that Acheen was ruled at that time by a Queen.⁽¹⁾ The Governor of Malacca then requested the said Laksamana to send him ten boat-loads of timber for the repairs of the bridge of Malacca, some 200 Malay carpenters and oars and paddles.

In a letter to their Honours at Batavia forwarded per the *Amboina* the Laksamana of Johor complained very much of the want of fulfilment of the promises made to him and to his King by former Commanders before the conquest of Malacca, and according to an agreement, made before the siege of Malacca, he requested the Company to return to the King of Johor all the big and small guns, which the Portuguese had taken from him.

On the 14th of August the *Neptunus* arrived from Coromandel with a cargo of purchased goods, amounting to rupees 265,975, viz. :—

250 bales of different calicos from <i>Palliacatte</i>	
at	Rs.86,028
482 bales of calicos, sugar, indigo, salpetre,	
thread, &c., from <i>Mazulipatam</i> , at ...	179,947
<hr/>	
732 bales of different goods, at ...	Rs.265,975
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The storeship the *Duyf* with 28 hands, despatched from Acheen by the Commissioner JUSTUS SCHOUTEN, arrived at Palliacatte in a very damaged condition, with broken main and fore-mast and lost mizen-mast, for which reason, Heer ARENT GARDENYS, Governor of Palliacatte, ordered it to Bengal to

(1) Sekander Muda, the King in whose time Achin attained its greatest prosperity, and who began to reign in 1606, had just died. He was to have aided the Dutch in their siege of Malacca, but declined, owing to their alliance with his enemy—Johor. Achin was ruled for the next sixty years by Queens.

have it repaired there. There being a great demand for cloves at Mazulipatam, the Factor, ARNOLD HENSSEN, and BARTHOLOMUS DE GRUITER were convinced that, if their Honours liked to sell them at 4 or 5 Pagods [A Pagod is an Indian golden coin of \$2.20.—Translator.] a basket of 24 lbs, they could easily sell 100,000 lbs. in a short time. All the other goods and produce of the Company were also pretty well sold during the past year, notwithstanding the uninterrupted wars.

The enemy who had been lying several days with his army before Galle, having decamped on the 23rd May, 1641, marched to Billegam, Mature and Gindere⁽¹⁾ laying hand upon everything that he could catch and laying waste the whole country about Galle in order to intercept the provisions to our people. At that time Raja SINGAH forwarded from Ceylon to Coromandel five wretched elephants which were not worth sending. Among the home freights were 422,304 lbs. of indigo. The vessel *Danish President Barent Passaart* took some tobacco to Bengal.

Heer JOHAN VAN TWIST, Governor of Malacca, wrote on 8th September, 1641, *viâ* Palembang to Jambi and sent this letter per the English ship *Anne* to have it forwarded to the Captain HENRIK VAN GENT. The said English ship *Anne* arrived at Malacca on the 8th of August, together with the *Franiker* bringing the Commissioner JUSTUS SCHOUTEN. Twenty persons died of a contagious disease on board the *Franiker* on its voyage to Malacca.

The old King of Atsjien, hearing of the resistance made by Malacca, was very irresolute and much inclined to make peace with the Portuguese; but he fortunately died in 1641 and was peaceably succeeded by his spouse as Queen, which was for the advantage of the Company. Peace was made with Djohor on reasonable conditions, and the Portuguese Ambassador, FRANCISCO DE ZOUZA, who had been detained in prison for a very long time, was released and forwarded as a present to the said Commissioner SCHOUTEN. And everything would have turned out to the best of the Company's wishes but for one thing, viz., that the Company suffered a heavy loss through the sale of the deceased King of Atsjien jewel-

(1) Weligama, Matara and Gintota.

lery, since but 5,025 tahils of the said jewellery were taken over by the Queen, and this amounted only to guilders 60,300, since Her Majesty said, first that it was not right to transfer to the living the debts of the dead and besides that the said jewels could not be worn with a Queen's dress and that the King had squandered much money and drained his country to purchase them, with a hundred other excuses too many to recount. From which it may be seen how dangerous it is to trust to fickle Indian princes in such matters, the more so as there was here nowhere else to send the goods to and they must either be sent back to the Netherlands with great loss or else sold at a loss.

The Queen reigned very peacefully, but she did nothing without the knowledge of her four chief Counsellors, who made a secret alliance, never to be ruled by a foreign King, and in order to realise that purpose, and to prevent a marriage of the Queen with a foreign Prince, they had inserted in the said treaty of peace, concluded with the King of Djohor, the express condition, that they should never send Ambassadors to each other, but that each of them should remain within the boundaries of his or her territory and refrain from all hostilities. This peace, therefore, was not at all disadvantageous for Djohor, its jurisdiction being properly and legally settled, whilst the averting of Ambassadors became a tacit excuse for being exempted from paying homage to the Atsjien crown generally, the first and chief cause of war between the said two Kings. But fearing that Djohor might get annoyed by the Queen's letter to us, in which the proud Achinese nature made it appear as if *we* had asked pardon for the crime committed by Djohor, we refuted this misrepresentation immediately in the presence of the Achinese and Djohor Ambassadors, and we sent, moreover, the Shabandar JAN JANSZON MENIE with a letter to the Laksamana of Djohor, in which we made a clear report of the matter and of the arrogance of the Achinese to which we added, that it ever had been and would be our principal aim to maintain peace between these two Princes. (Time, however, will show if Djohor will keep peace.)

The day after the arrival of Commissioner SCHOUTEN, the vessel *D'Eendracht* arrived at this place from Coromandel, with a freight of calicos worth guilders 165,000, and on the 10th ditto, the (sloop) *Amboina* quite unexpectedly entered the river here. Having left at 6 degrees Northern latitude the vessels under the command of DOMINICUS BOUWENS (sailing from Ceylon to Java) she had touched Acheen and brought first the news of the demise at that place of the Underfactor, HENRIK VAN RENDORP, Assistant to the Factor, JAN COMPOSTEL, and further that on account of the close occupation till the 2nd May, but one Portuguese vessel had arrived at Goa, which brought the news that the two caracks, with the new Viceroy, JOAN DE SYLVA, on board, which left Lisboa in September last, were still lying under the protection of the Fortress Aguada, and that it was most likely quite impossible to return this year to Europe. Leaving Goa, the said Commander BOUWENS sailed to Ceylon with the vessels *Amboina*, *Arnemuyden* and *Valkenburg*; on his arrival there he heard that Punto Galle was besieged by the Portuguese, about 700 or 800 strong, under the Command of Don PHILIPPO DE MASCARENHAS, but that the place was not in distress, since the President, JAN THYSSEN, held the fortress with a garrison of 500 men well provided with all sorts of necessities. As Mr. SCHOUTEN had to remain here still a little longer, he thought it better to despatch *D'Eendracht* first, so, after having shipped on board the Coromandel freight, worth guilders 165,000, the unsold jewels, cash rix dollars 1,009, four undamaged brass guns from the ramparts of Malacca and a big bell for the church of Batavia, of a total value of guilders 139,431-17-8, it sailed from here on 14th September last.

On 24th September the *Franiker*, with Commissioner SHOUTEN on board, left this place with a freight of Achinese pepper, some rice, 27½ bhara of Andragiri pepper (purchased of the British *Anne* at rix dollars 25 a bhara), besides 7 damaged guns and other rubbish, altogether worth guilders 2,273.14.

He hoped to arrive soon at Batavia, so as to be able to give their Honours a thorough report on the condition of this place

and to forward there the things that most needed, viz., a sufficient number of soldiers to reinforce the garrison, some workmen to repair the fortifications and breaches and, what was most important, some Chinese to cultivate the fields and gardens. He expressed his hope to be back here in September of next year and then to complete the arrangement of matters in the stronghold.

On the 15th of October Commander PIETER BAAK arrived at Malacca with the vessels *Welsing* and the *Franiker* and *Bergen op de Zoom* with 100 soldiers and a freight of guilders 44,144, and, according to letters from their Honours, the following ships had arrived there (Batavia) from this place (Malacca) viz.:—

On 25th July, 1641, the vessel *Kleen Zutphen*; on 17th August the *Breedam* and the *d'Eendracht* with the garrisons of Mazulipatam and Palliacate; on 7th September the *Frani-ker* with the Commissioner Heer SCHOUTEN and the Achinese Ambassadors; and on the 9th September the yacht *Limmen* with a full freight of rice.

On the arrival of the said Commissioner, their Honours received an exact report of the whole condition of Malacca, and granted their approbation to all that had been done; they sent first the said two vessels, which 8 or 10 days afterwards were to be followed by the *Arnemuyden*, *Bredam* and the yacht *de Sterre*, first to assist in the action against Ceylon, and then to reinforce the fleet under the command of MATHYS QUAST, which had sailed to Goa on 18th July last. The vessel *Akkersloot* was to follow next with a cargo of different cloths, nutmegs, cloves and mace for Persia, and to take thither also the tin bought at Peirah, Keidah, Salang and Bangeri and brought to Malacca per *Gragt*. We received from Gamron 700 bales of silk, and expected daily some 200 bales more per *Sandvoort* and *de Paum* which both had left that place on 2nd June: we will mention afterwards the reason why Factor ADRIAAN VAN OSTENDE had been induced to purchase that silk. The Company's factory at that place being burdened with a sum of guilders 300,000, their Honours gave orders to take the said tin to Persia and to

sell it there. After an administration of one year and ten months Heer VAN TWIST was succeeded in 1642 by Heer JEREMIAS VAN VLIET as 2nd Governor of Malacca, who arrived there from Palembang and Jambi on 7th November *per de Luypaard* ; his installation as such took place on 15th December by the Commissioner PIETER BOREEL, whereupon Heer VAN TWIST left this place with the vessel on 21st December.

On 27th April, 1645, a letter from their Honours arrived here in which they offered Mr. VAN VLIET 200 guilders a month, and the honorary title of Extraordinary Counsel of India, if he would sign a new agreement for 3 years (to count from 18th August, 1644), but mentioning at the same time, that, if he did not wish to make a new agreement, he had to transfer the administration to Heer ARNOLD DE VLAMING VAN OUDTSHOORN, who was on his way as Commissioner to Atsjien.

The said Heer DE VLAMING arrived here with that letter on 15th May, left as Commissioner for Atsjien *viâ* Peirah on 22nd ditto, and returned here from there on 15th October. Heer VAN VLIET accepted the new agreement, but their Honours granted him, by a letter dated 2nd September, a leave to Batavia, as he had to see their Honours on different matters of importance and to give account of his first administration. The Commissioner Heer ARNOLD DE VLAMING VAN OUDTSHOORN was then appointed acting 3rd Governor of Malacca on 6th November, 1645, with the charge to remain here until later orders of their Honours, whilst Heer VAN VLIET left for Batavia on 11th ditto, after an administration of about 3 years.

Whereas the said Heer DE VLAMING had assumed in the meantime the title of Governor, their Honours not only expressed their dissatisfaction in a letter of 6th December, but told him that Heer VAN VLIET still being Governor, he (DE VLAMING) should assume the title henceforward of President only. He was succeeded in 1646 by Heer JOHAN THYSSOON PAIJART (who arrived here on 22nd November) as the 4th Governor of Malacca and who was introduced as such on 24th ditto by the Commissioner Heer JOHAN VAN TEYLINGEN, who

arrived here on 21st November, whilst Heer DE VLAMING left for Batavia *vid* Andragiri on 15th December next per the *de Ryp*. It was during the administration of the said Heer PAIJART in 1651 that the Malays of Kedah and Perak murdered nine Netherlanders. The said gentleman held the administration of this place for 16 years (something very rare) and was succeeded on 1st November, 1662, by Heer JOHAN VAN RIEBEEK (who arrived here on 18th October per the *Slot Honingen* as 5th Governor), but with the titles of Commander and President only, whilst Heer PAIJART, after having introduced the said gentleman as such, sailed for Batavia on 8th ditto per the same vessel.

On 22nd September, 1665, arrived here Heer BALTHASAR BORT per the *Meliskerke*. Having been here before for several years in the service of the Company, he was introduced on 16th October by Heer VAN RIEBECK as the 6th Commander and President, whereupon VAN RIEBECK sailed for Batavia on that very night after an administration of about 3 years. On the 6th August, 1668, their Honours wrote to Heer BORT, that the "seventeen gentlemen" ⁽¹⁾ had appointed him to be a Governor and granted him this new title.

In 1669 the expenditure of this Government amounted to rix dollars 201,443 with a clear profit of rix dollars 56,926.

On 4th February, 1670, their Honours wrote again that the "seventeen gentlemen" had made his Honour a member of the Extraordinary Council of India with a new agreement of 5 years.

ABDULDJALIL SJAII II, King of Johor, died in 1671 and was succeeded by Sultan IBRAHIM SJAII, as the 20th Malay and the 14th Muhammadan King and the 8th King of Johor. He reigned 11 years, viz., from 1671 to 1682.

On 14th May, 1678, Heer BORT received a letter, mentioning him that the "seventeen gentlemen" had made him Ordinary Counsel of India.

On 30th April, 1679, arrived here Heer JACOB JORISSOON PITS, Extraordinary Counsel of India, who was introduced by Heer BORT on 10th October as the 7th Governor of this place,

(1) The Directors of the Company.

whereas Heer BORT sailed from here with the *Nieuwe Noordwyk* on 16th ditto, after an administration of 4 years.

On 22nd November, 1680, arrived here from Batavia per *Den Briel* Heer COMELIS VAN QUAALBERG, who succeeded Heer PITS as the 8th Governor of this place on 23rd December, whilst the said Mr. PITS left here on 14th January, 1681, with the vessels *de Veluwe* and *Kroonenburg* as Commissioner for the Coast of Coromandel and Bengal to succeed Heer WILLEM KAREL HARTSING as Governor of those places. By a letter from the "seventeen gentlemen," dated 30th November, 1681, the said Heer VAN QUAALBERG was appointed Extraordinary Counsel of India on 2nd November, 1682.

In the same year IBRAHIM SJAII, King of Johor, died and was succeeded by Sultan MOHAMMED SJAII II, who was the 21st Malay and the 15th Muhammadan King, and the 9th King of Johor, and who reigned there till 1699, *i.e.*, 17 years.

On 20th September, 1684, arrived here per the *Silversteyn* Heer NICOLAAS SCHAGHEN, Extraordinary Counsel of India, who was introduced on 1st December by Heer VAN QUAALBERG as 9th Governor, whilst the latter one sailed from here per the *Japan* to Batavia on 6th ditto. Their Honours wrote on 30th October, 1685, to Heer SCHAGHEN, that they had appointed him by decree of 23rd ditto Director of Bengal, and that they had elected as his substitute Heer FRANÇOIS TAK, then Ambassador and Commissioner to the Emperor of Java; but as the said gentleman would not arrive here before April next, he (SCHAGHEN) had to transmit the administration to the Secunde, Heer DIRK KOMANS, who was then introduced by Heer SCHAGHEN on 5th January, 1686, as Commander of this place, whilst Heer SCHAGHEN left for Bengal on 12th ditto per *de Stryen*.

On 19th November arrived here from Batavia per the *Hoogergeest* Heer THOMAS SLICHER, Extraordinary Counsel of India, who was introduced by Heer KOMANS on 26th ditto as the 10th Governor of Malacca. That worthy gentleman, who held the Governorship of this place to the general satisfaction from 1686 to 1691, suffered badly from a sad disease, which made him commit suicide on 18th October by jumping

out of a window. After his death Heer KOMANS again acted till he was relieved by Heer GELMER VOSBURG, who was introduced by Heer KOMANS on 1st October, 1692, as the 11th Governor of Malacca.

Their Honours wrote on 15th April, 1696, that, by their decree of 10th ditto, Heer VOSBURG had been elected Commissioner for Coromandel and that Governor GOVERT VAN HOORN had been chosen to relieve him here. He arrived at this place on 2nd November per the *Spierdyk* and was introduced on 1st January, 1697, by the Secunde, Heer ABRAHAM DOUGLAS (Mr. VOSBURG being ill), as the 12th Governor of Malacca.

In the meantime their Honours had written already on 19th October of the year before to Heer VOSBURG, that on account of ill-health he was discharged from his commission to Coromandel. He died here the 10th January, 1697, after an administration of 4 years and 3 months and was buried in the St. Paul's Church.

MOHAMMED SJAII II, King of Johor, died in 1699, and was succeeded by Sultan ABDULDJALIL SJAII III as the 22nd Malay and the 16th Muhammadan King and the 10th King of Johor.

I have not been able to trace how long this Prince has reigned, and who succeeded him, but after a reign of 9 years he was still alive in 1708, so, if we begin to count the Rule of the Malay Kings from 1160, the reign of these 22 Kings had lasted in the said year 547 years and 11 months.

On 11th November, 1700, Heer BERNHARD PHOONSEN arrived here per the *Ellemeet* from Batavia, who was introduced on 24th ditto by Heer VAN HOORN as the 13th Governor of Malacca, whilst on the same day the late Governor went on board of the *Carthago* and left for Batavia after an administration of about 4 years.

On 17th June, 1703, Heer PHOONSEN received the news that, according to a letter dated 18th September, 1702, their Honours the "seventeen gentlemen," had appointed him Extraordinary Counsel of India and a Commissioner for the Coast of Coromandel. But unfortunately, both he and his splendid vessel *de Vogel Phenix* were taken by the French in 1705,

on his way thither, for which fact he was prosecuted after his release, but, though with much trouble, finally acquitted.

On 18th December, 1703, the Japanmen arrived here under Heer JOHAN GROOTENBUYS' colours escorted by a squadron of men-of-war.

On 18th January, 1704, the said Heer GROOTENBUYS was appointed by Heer PHOONSEN to be provisionally Commander of this place, whereupon he (Heer PHOONSEN) embarked that very evening on board of *de Ellemeet* and left this place with the whole fleet on the following day.

On 10th May Heer KAREL BOLNER arrived here per *de Schoondyk* from Punto Galle, who was introduced on 22nd ditto by the said Heer GROOTENBUYS as the 14th Governor of Malacca.

The 10th January, 1707, Heer PIETER ROOSELAAR, arrived here per the *Serjantsland*, who was introduced on 7th March by Heer BOLNER as the 15th Governor of Malacca, whilst the said late Governor left this place in the afternoon of that day.

On 6th September of the same year the said Heer ROOSELAAR received the news that, according to a letter dated 30th October, 1706, their Honours the "seventeen gentlemen" had appointed him Extraordinary Counsel of India.

Shortly afterwards (1708) the solicitor and advocate, Mr. ABRAHAM VAN KERVEL, arrived here, who after having had a dispute with the said Governor and (if I am not mistaken) having been put in jail by him, wrote to Batavia and brought about that their Honours sent to this place in 1709 Heer WILLEM SIX to succeed Heer ROOSELAAR, who was sent up to Batavia together with the whole board of administration with the exception of Captain PALM. Heer SIX arrived here on 7th November, and was introduced on 16th December as the 16th Governor of Malacca by Heer ROOSELAAR who left this place for Batavia a few days afterwards per the *Nichtevegt*.

Hoping that he had been cured Heer SIX released the said Heer VAN KERVEL, but he became so troublesome that he was obliged to send him up to Batavia in 1710.

By order of their Honours he (Heer VAN KERVEL) returned to this place in 1711, but I have heard that the board of ad-

ministration did not allow him to come on shore, but sent him back again to Batavia, at which their Honours were so greatly offended, that they summoned the Governor, Heer VAN SUCHTELEN (the Secunde), Captain TREKMEYER and RYKLOF JUSTUS COSTERUS; when sued at law by Heer VAN KERVEL in 1712 both Heer SIX and Heer VAN SUCHTELEN were not only dismissed from their office, but Heer SIX was fined in rix-dollars 400 and Heer VAN SUCHTELEN in rix dollars 300 whereas the two others were acquitted.

On 21st May, 1711, per the *Venhuizen*, Heer WILLEM MOERMAN, arrived here, who, in compliance with their Honours' special order, was introduced by Heer SIX as the 17th Governor of this place on the day of his arrival, whilst Heer SIX sailed from here to Batavia per the same vessel on 16th July next.

It is a strange fact, that the said Heer SIX and VAN SUCHTELEN, although fined and ordered to pay all costs, shortly after having received the above-mentioned punishment, were completely rehabilitated by their Honours and admitted not only anew in the service of the Company, but declared also re-eligible for their former offices, a fact susceptible of several interpretations when it is remembered how long these men had openly made light of their Honours' authority.

Heer MOERMAN, too, who arrived here with several other members of the board of administration, could not agree with Heer VAN KERVEL, who arrived in the same vessel with him; he (VAN KERVEL) remained here till the end of 1711, returned then to Batavia and was by order of the "seventeen gentlemen" sent up to Patria in 1712.

Heer MOERMAN had the administration of this Government till 11th May, 1717, almost 6 years, at which date he died here. That year he was succeeded by Heer HERMAN VAN SUCHTELEN as the 18th Governor of Malacca, who is there still at present, viz., 1725.

The above then is an account of the most principal worldly matters of Malacca; before passing to the ecclesiastical matters we will attach first a list of the Malay Kings and those of Johor.

But first I must add to this a few words, viz., that the reader

will never find in any work, written about Malacca or about those Kings, anything resembling our account, or any account worth mentioning, and this for the simple reason, that we have had the opportunity of drawing everything from the personal writings and historical notices made by the Kings of Malacca itself, which have never been seen by any previous authors or which could not be read or understood by them, and we hope that we have written something which will meet with the attention of observing and learned men, since we have had a great deal of trouble in digging up this from the dust of antiquity with much scrutiny and caution ; but at the same time it has never tired us, as we were convinced, that this account would be agreeable to posterity and would acquaint it with many things of which it had never heard nor read of. To complete my account I have attached the list of the Kings of Malacca.

